1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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transversely at the end of a shaft. The Havasupai use a horse scapula but without hafting it.[1]

Cotton is raised by the Hopi, Tewa (except possibly Pecos and Taos), Pima, Maricopa, Western Apache, and Tepehuane. It is not grown by the Navaho, Zuñi, Acoma, or the Tanoan Pueblos.[2]

Tobacco is widely used in North America though it is not everywhere grown. In the Southwest and the adjacent territories its cultivation has been noted for the Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, San Carlos, Pima, Southern Diegueño, and the Mayos of Mexico.[3] Smoking is known to have been customary among neighboring tribes, who did not raise the plant: Cocopa, Akwa'ala, Moapa, Gosiute, Paviotso, Washo, Wind River Shoshoni,[4] and generally in California. The Havasupai habit of planting in ashes without turning the soil is also the custom of the Hupa.[5]

Unfortunately, I do not know which species the common Havasupai tobacco is. Its name, *úsa*, however, is connected with Southern Diegueño *op* (*Nicotiana attenuata*), Shasta *ôp*, Takelma *ô"p'*, Crow *ôp* (*N. multivalvis*), Hidatsa *ô'pe* (*N. quadrivalvis*), probably Washo *piuku'e*, and possibly Pima *vopal viofá*, "like tobacco" (*N. trigonophylla*).[6] There is a similar extension of the name "Coyote's tobacco" though again to distinct species; Havasupai (*N. trigonophylla*), Southern Diegueño (*N. attenuata*), and Pima (*N. Bigelovii*).

Mescal (agave) is gathered and roasted in pits by most, if not all, the non-Pueblo peoples and perhaps by the Pueblo and Mexican tribes as well. It is an item of some importance for the Jicarilla, Mescalero, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Navaho, Havasupai, Paiute, Yavapai, Pima, Cahuilla, and Huichol.[7] It would be worth knowing how far this distribution corresponds with that of the plant. Pit roasting is probably absent from the Basin and the Plains, and from California except among the southern desert tribes. But much farther north, in the Plateau and adjacent sections of the Northwest Coast, it is the characteristic mode of preparing roots. The mescal cabbages are probably always pried off with a chisel-edged stick (Havasupai, White Mountain Apache, and Pima) and trimmed with the peculiar hatchet (Havasupai,

[1] Cushing, (d), Pl. III, 204; Russell, (d), 98, 97; Franciscan Fathers, 285-6. Mohave specimen in the Anthropological Museum, University of California.
[2] Spier, (f), 80.
[3] Mitchell: Curtis (XII, 20) denies that the Hopi plant tobacco; Corbusier, 328; Russell, (d), 119; Spier, (a), 348; Bandelier, (a), 49; Goddard, (e), 365.
[4] Lowie (b), 215; Kroeber, (a), 289.
[5] Goddard, (a), 37.
[6] Lowie, (f), 198. Washo name from Doctor Lowie, 1926.
[7] Goddard, (e), 148-149; Curtis, I, 17-19; Palmer, 647; Corbusier, 327; Russell, (d), 70; Barrows, Lumholtz, (a), 13.

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was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, then he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjïpa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *ułtagosd"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yd'dsatyd*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

> The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).
>
> I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*sdmd*")[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

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[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *gisimd* (doctor, medicine).

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The other form is known locally as cañute (Spanish caña, reed) which takes its name from the four tubes or segments of reed in which the object is hidden. This is played by the Ute,[1] Jicarilla, at Taos, San Juan, San Ildefonso,[2] Santa Clara, Jemez, Isleta, Sia, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Hano, by the Hopi, Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and the Zuaque of Rio Fuerte, Sinaloa. These two forms of the game seem to be related, at least in that the tubes are stuck in a mound at San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Zuñi, Zuaque, and sometimes Taos; and they are filled with sand by the Tewa of Hano, Pima, and Papago.

The scoring in the cañute game is curious and arbitrary. In general, the object is to find the ball in the third tube chosen, when the privilege of hiding passes to the victor, but he gains no counters. If it is located on the first trial the guesser loses ten points, on the second, six, and if it remains in the fourth tube, four. That is, points are gained only as the opponent loses. This is the scoring of San Ildefonso, Laguna, Hano, probably Taos, Santa Clara, Navaho, and at least sometimes at Zuñi. The Papago and Pima have an analogous count: losing ten, six, or four to the opponent, depending on which tube the ball is hidden in. The description suggests that the choice really corresponds to leaving the ball in the fourth tube.

The method of determining which side shall first hide the pellet shows some historical connections. Among the Papago both hide a pellet and guess as many times as is necessary before one alone makes a correct guess. The Pima method seems to be similar. At San Ildefonso one of them must find the ball hidden in one of two tubes at his first trial. This seems also to be the case at Nambé. This couples the Piman and Tewan groups. On the other hand, a different method is used in the center of the area: Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and Acoma toss a leaf, chip, or disk to decide.

The total number of points needed to win is generally of the same order: Navaho, 102, Zuñi, 100+2, Hano and Jicarilla 104, Laguna, 100+4, Pima, 100 (or its multiple), Papago, 50 or 100 or more, Oraibi, 50, San Ildefonso, 50 to 200. The total is variable at Santa Clara, ten by a different count at Walpi, and among the Hopi at large eight consecutive correct guesses.

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It is noteworthy that the name of the game is very variable. The exceptions show obvious connections: Havasupai and Walapai, Papago and Pima. On the other hand, there are similarities in the names given

[1] Lowie, (l), 288.
[2] Harrington, (b).

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the tubes and in their markings which connect the Gila tribes with the Tewa and their neighbors. The following table gives the names in translation, the native terms being retained only where no translation is given or where they will show connections. The names are not always explicitly attached to Culin's illustrations, so I have taken the liberty of assuming the appropriate connection. This applies to the material from Santa Clara, Taos, and Papago.

	One End Marked	*Two Ends Marked*	*All Over, or Ends and Middle*	*Middle Marked*	*Unmarked*
Nambé	one	two	mulato[1]	chinchado[1] (girded)	
Santa Clara	one	two	sĕn-dŏ' (old)	girthed	
Taos	one	two	mulata (tawney)	girthed	
San Ildefonso	one	two	mula(ende (old mule)	ti'ị (el hinchado, swollen)	
Jemez	at the top	at two places	speckled	in the middle	
Isleta	one	two	spotted		
Sia	×	×	×	×	
Hopi	×	×	×	×	
Hano	penopeni	poyopeni	wihipeni	kẹịeni	
Pima	ma-atcovolt		old man	middle black	old woman
Papago	imá-ok ju ool		old man	made black	old woman
Maricopa	hiyaquimyorsh		old man	tok-gum-yorsh	old woman

Harrington suggests that the San Ildefonso names translated "old mule" and "swollen" are their folk-etymologies for their equivalents of the common Spanish names mulato and chinchado.[2] I would suggest further a possible connection of the Santa Clara "old" (or old man?) and this "old mule" with the Pima-Papago-Maricopa "old man."

Among some of the groups the hider arranges the tubes in a definite pattern. At San Ildefonso there are a whole host of such arrangements, each with its appropriate name, but at Jemez, Isleta, and Taos, there are none. At Acoma it is said they are laid on their ends or sides, or in fantastic ways. The Papago and Pima guesser crosses one pair of tubes and picks up one of the others. The Zuñi arrange them in a square or a

[1] I have transposed these names because the names as given in Culin's account (366) obviously do not agree with the markings. These will then agree with the Santa Clara and Taos names which Harrington [(b), 351] has identified with the San Ildefonso analogs.

[2] Harrington, (b), 349-351.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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When I assured him no possible injury could result, he yielded to my urgent entreaties so far as to consent to allow me to make his sun-picture, on the sole condition, however, that I did not ask him to look at the camera, or to cease talking (he was relating some Havasupai myths at the time). His condition was what I desired, for it enabled me to secure the accompanying natural and life-like photograph.

In speech the Havasupai tongue is not very musical or agreeable. The voices of men and women are soft and sweet, as a rule, and either when singing their rude aboriginal songs or those that they have been taught at school, they show a natural appreciation of tone that is not usual or common. In a sentence the last syllable of the last word is often a third higher than the rest of the word. This gives a singularly emphatic effect.

The voices of the men are not unpleasant, though generally they are thrown too high — head tones — to be agreeable; and as conversation increases they often allow their voices to rise to an almost querulous note. There is a good deal of the chant about it of a half-musical nature.

The women's voices are usually sweet and musical, but the language itself does not lend itself to the display of vocal sweetness. It is not a "liquid" language. It is full of crooks and twists, gutturals and harsh labials, and seems to be ground out in angles with a machine-like regularity. In some cases, the women, having imitated the querulous tone of some of the men, have developed a harshness that is disagreeable. The rapidity with which they learn new words is remarkable. Lanoman, one of the present policemen, asked me the

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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English of a number of words, and all during the day I heard him repeating them over to himself, and seldom would he need correction.

The dress commonly worn by the women consists of a short skirt and waist, made of colored calico, and a *si-dram'-a*, which may be described as a rude shawl, two corners of which are tied obliquely across the chest. When at work this is often slung over one side of the body so that one arm is free. Among the Havasupais the si-dram-a that is most desired and sought after is one made of four large bandana handkerchiefs, with red as the choice of colors.

The men, when I first visited them, seldom wore anything more than the breech-clout except in cold weather, but as school influences began to permeate the village, blue overalls and the cast-off trousers and other clothing of the white man were donned, until now it is a rare sight to see a man clothed in any other than the ordinary fashion, though the influence of the outside Indians is seen in the Spanish "cut" of all home-made garments. Moccasins are the common foot-gear, though occasionally a man or woman may be found wearing "civilized" shoes.

Fish, pork, chicken, all kinds of birds and eggs, are tabooed as food by the Havasupais, but they eat rats, deer, antelope, rabbit, prairie dog, and mountain sheep. They are especially fond of beef, and horse and mule meat, no matter how the animals come to their death, are esteemed luxuries. They will even eat lizards and lice.

The prickly pear and the fruit of the amole, or hoshkon, are much favored when ripe. The latter is roasted in the coals until the outside is completely blackened.

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
864 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
841 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
●[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ahu k tiga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 328). Blood was recorded as ahuát' and red as ahuá'ta by this investigator.

841 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
864 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
362 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.